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Phonetics

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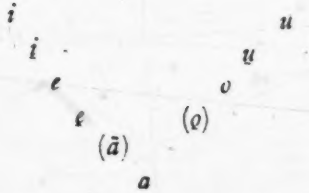
It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

194 The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o, u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish.

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e

ɛ is a more open e than the French è in "père." It is almost a very closed front a.

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194 [128] [114] I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of an o (o) whose articulation would be close to a gutteral (back) a. Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The dipthongs are the following: au, eu, ua, (wa), ue (we).

The sign ˇ put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphtong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Constringents		Liquids		
Aspirated	h								
Guttural (medio gut.)	k	g	k		x				
Palatal			č	ǰ	š	ž		l'	ñ
Dental	t (tʰ)		ts		s	(z)	r	l	n
Labial	p (pʰ)					w			

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

č = "ch" in Spanish.

š = "ch" in French.

ž = French "j" in "jeter."

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194 ǰ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Cipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

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*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac.*

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g. lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.